

Routes to tour in Germany

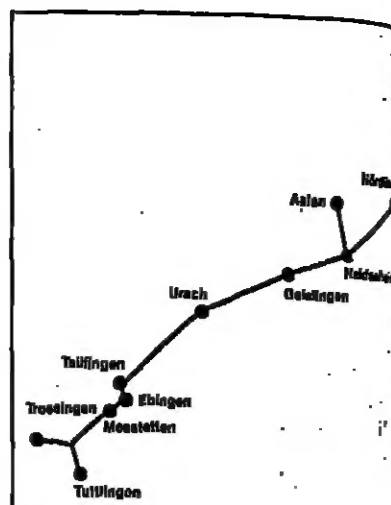
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- 1 View of the Hegau region, near Tuttlingen
- 2 Heldenheim
- 3 Nördlingen
- 4 Urach
- 5 Hohenzollern Castle

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Judgment on Euro-summit a matter for the future

Summit meetings of EEC heads of government are held so often that they cannot regularly achieve visible results. Exceptions prove the rule. It was in 1978, when at three summits Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing gradually put together the European Monetary System. In December 1982 Copenhagen session of the European Council, as the summit is known, may prove to be a further exception. It seems to have been progress on issues yet, surprisingly, neither EEC leaders nor the European Council's Gaston Thorn felt able to say so.

Helmut Kohl, an optimistic leader to the summit, enthused about the cordial atmosphere. A number of issues the new German Chancellor embarked on a careful course in policy toward Europe. He abandoned a number of views on which the new Bonn had inherited from its predecessor, insisted in April. The most important deadline agreed in Copenhagen was the agreement to eliminate a wide range of hindrances in the EEC domestic market by the end of April.

This could be a ray of hope for German exporters, although Bonn is sure to have to make concessions of its own on a number of issues. But consolidation of the EEC home market could well help set the scene psychologically for an economic upswing provided it was accompanied by other positive factors. In France's view the establishment of

Common Market countries ought to come to terms with themselves on a variety of issues, some of which jeopardise EEC unity. They have different views on, for example, how to create jobs to combat unemployment and how to conduct foreign trade. There can be little doubt that after the clash between Europe and America over the gas-pipeline embargo, the next major issue will be a struggle for the world's agricultural markets.

But the Europeans don't even agree among themselves on how to react to this. It is about time they learned to agree on how to manage crises.

The Common Market has no shot at becoming a world power. Continued on page 3



Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with the host Prime Minister, Poul Schlüter, at the EEC summit meeting in Copenhagen. (Photo: dpa)

Time that EEC nations ironed out their differences

Common Market countries ought to come to terms with themselves on a variety of issues, some of which jeopardise EEC unity. They have different views on, for example, how to create jobs to combat unemployment and how to conduct foreign trade. There can be little doubt that after the clash between Europe and America over the gas-pipeline embargo, the next major issue will be a struggle for the world's agricultural markets. But the Europeans don't even agree among themselves on how to react to this. It is about time they learned to agree on how to manage crises.

The Common Market has no shot at becoming a world power. Continued on page 3

North Atlantic partners keep up search for key to disarmament

Moscow is going ahead with installation of new SS-20 missile systems. There are estimated to be 324, with three warheads each. Soon there will be 342. The Americans have insisted to date at the Geneva talks on the zero option proposed by President Reagan. It would mean both sides dispensing entirely with land-based medium-range missiles. But at one point in the latest NATO communiqué the West called on Moscow for the first time to propose a solution of its own if it wanted to. Britain's Defence Minister, John Nott, says he understands this to mean it need not be a zero option. If the Russians want to keep some of their missiles, terms could be negotiated. Agreement could then be reached on

Continued on page 2

Views differ strongly on how, for instance the European Community ought to arrange its foreign trade ties. If the decision rested with France, the EEC would batten down the hatches more. The French government's view is that with unemployment so high, protectionism is essential. Trade, it feels, must be based on strict reciprocity. Paris has more than the Japanese in mind. It is also opposed to bids by the Americans to influence EEC agricultural export policy. Washington has called on the Common Market to reduce its heavy agricultural export subsidies. They make it more difficult for US farmers to export to Europe. As the summit in Copenhagen ended, no fewer than four leading Reagan administration officials were due to fly to Brussels for talks. Europe and America were divided on this issue at the 88-country Gatt conference in Geneva. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11 December 1982)

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Advanced technology one answer to lack of cash for defence, Nato meeting told

Economic crisis is making it harder for Nato nations to reach their defence planning targets. This became clear at the autumn session in Brussels of the Defence Planning Committee.

But it also emerged that the increasing availability of advanced technology will help defence forces improve their efficiency.

All Nato countries that are parties to the pact's military integration are members of the committee; all, that is, but France.

Nato retains without reservations its flexible response strategy and forward defence approach, including the use of nuclear weapons.

The committee session followed meetings of Natos's European Defence Ministers and its Nuclear Planning Group; it laid the groundwork for the Brussels gathering of Nato Foreign Ministers.

Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns of Holland, while appreciating economic difficulties, called on member-countries to maintain manpower targets.

Denmark for one frankly said its defence capability would be impaired if the economic crisis were to continue; Canada said it could withstand the crisis and would honour its commitments.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner said Germany was determined to maintain its "contribution" toward joint defence.

Economic and financial difficulties had not prevented the German government from boosting defence estimates at twice the rate planned for the budget as a whole.

Britain's John Nott quoted figures to contest constant US criticism of the Europeans for allegedly falling short in their defence contributions.

Doubts raised

Herr Wörner shared the anxiety voiced by Nato C-in-C General Rogers and Secretary-General Luns that the flexible response strategy could forfeit flexibility if current trends continued.

The only way to counteract the trend was to improve conventional capability by means of advanced technology.

He agreed with Mr Nott in seeing an opportunity in this context of opening wide a two-way traffic in arms procurement between Europe and the United States.

This was a prerequisite for Europe in general and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular if new technologies were to be introduced in the arms sector.

Herr Wörner also set great store by:

- "Nato forces' standards of training and leadership;

- the "operational capability" of the standing armies and reserves; and
- improvements to shortcomings in anti-aircraft and anti-tank capacity and electronic potential.

But efforts in these sectors must not mean forgoing the nuclear counterstrike option in the event of attack.



Nato's Military Committee chairman, Admiral Robert Falls of Canada, stressed in his report to Defence Ministers that the pact's flexible response strategy retained full validity.

But what it entailed in detail formed part of tactical planning to resist aggression and was constantly changing and being developed.

The pace of technological progress had speeded these changes in recent years. Equipment available in the fairly near future would enable any army with access to it to defend itself more effectively.

Admiral Falls felt there could be no overlooking the considerable effect of modern technology on military tactics.

There would be something seriously wrong in fundamental military thinking

if Nato were to refuse to adjust its tactics to scientific progress.

The process of review must keep abreast of technological change. The Military Committee had ensured that the review process would take technological development fully into account.

He stressed that nuclear forces would not need to be deployed so fast if conventional capability were strong enough.

The US delegation noted that strengthening conventional deterrent capacity would not necessarily lead to a reduction in nuclear potential.

That could only be achieved by means of modernisation of existing systems.

General Rogers had previously indicated that his concept would enable Nato to scrap some of the 6,000 short-range missiles and nuclear mines stationed in Western Europe.

The Eurogroup, consisting of all European Nato member-countries except

France, had already outlined in its communiqué a long-term modernisation programme for conventional arms.

Much of the first morning of the session was taken up by the dispute between Greece and Turkey, who are jointly trusted with defending Nato's eastern flank.

The dispute has intensified over the past six months, with Athens launching several protests against Turkish incursions of Greek air space and pushing troops in combat readiness.

Greek pull-out

Greece had previously called for participation in Nato manoeuvres, but no exercises were planned. Lemnos, a Greek island in the Aegean off the Turkish coast.

US sources said all Nato countries agreed that Greece and Turkey, by calling off a summit meeting, were not meeting the gathering of Nato Foreign Ministers in Brussels.

Ankara and Athens must jointly find solutions to their problem. Nato policy speech in the Bundestag were worried about a weakening of the pact's south-eastern flank.

Hans-Josef Stieglitz, a German diplomat, said to familiar points that are already in the deal and the determination to install in Germany the Geneva arms control talks

the European Nato countries public for lagging behind in their defence efforts.

In Washington he has to handle Congressmen keen to withdraw some US forces in Europe to punish NATO's allies for not pulling their weight. "Our policy will remain one of partnership with the Third World."

This view is held by Senators members of the House of Representatives who will have no truck with control talks and the desire for peace. What they plan is to teach the Soviet Union a lesson, and the Europeans if need be.

Nato Defence Ministers agreed on a new strategy ruling out the possibility of nuclear weapons would be illusory, a deterrent to an attack on Western Europe.

The flexible response strategy is retained because there is not enough money available to reinforce nuclear defence adequately.

Moscow may have undertaken to use nuclear weapons first; NATO has announced the first use of arms of kind.

So Western governments have decided to abide by the comment made by new Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, in his inaugural address:

"We aren't going to disarm unilaterally. We aren't naive."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 December 1982)

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(Photo: dpa)

HOME AFFAIRS

Kohl's first foreign policy speech gives Opposition little chance for attack

Chancellor Kohl has wasted no time in getting into foreign affairs. In his first months in office he has taken the Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher as the country's top diplomat.

As Chancellor Kohl took office, he went off to Paris and London. He had talks with the French and British in Bonn.

The brief flurry of foreign policy activity by the government was not enough to give the opposition something it could get its teeth into.

The most important question remained unanswered after the Bundestag's first foreign policy debate following the change of government: Will the election campaign be dominated by the missiles issue if election in March takes place? (There is a constitutional question mark hanging over it).

Shades of such a campaign have become discernible in Bonn, primarily because of what Kohl said in New York. He considered the spring elections necessary, not least because he wants to have the voters' mandate for the deployment of the missiles next autumn.

(During the flight, Kohl told journalists who accompanied him on the trip that the elections were necessary "because of the things that might have to be implemented.")

The idea makes sense: anybody who votes for Kohl might also — possibly — vote for what the Chancellor calls his "firm determination" to have Pershing II and Cruise missiles stationed in Germany.

Does this mean that Kohl's campaign will centre around the double NATO decision? Perhaps because he wants to push the SPD into a corner with a new variant of the "Peace and freedom" theme?

Probably not quite in this way because, as one social Democrat puts it: "The CDU would then become the 'missile party'."

Euro-summit

Continued from page 1

The wider-ranging, domestic market-supposes that the EEC is preparing a more egalitarian attitude to its trading partners, especially France.

Comment on this front was also in the air at the Copenhagen summit. However, the new Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Herr Kohl were impressed by M. Mitterrand's arguments.

France and the Netherlands had been the mainstays in the EEC policy of worldwide free trade.

By Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Otto Lambsdorff.

Now looks as though Chancellor Kohl no longer regards Herr Lambsdorff as a Cabinet Minister whose views should be disregarded.

Copenhagen Helmut Kohl did not have to pass a serious test in the Council. There was no discussion of the demand for an increase in the Common Market members.

M. Mitterrand of France did not want to upset the new government in Bonn just before the general election.

Conditions in the heart of Europe seem to matter most for Paris.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 December 1982)



Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski (SPD) made a valiant attempt. But it was unsuccessful.

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Two new left-wing parties are formed, but appeal is limited

Germany's political left is breaking into factions. Two new leftist parties have been formed.

After hesitating for a long time, two former SPD members of the Bonn parliament, Manfred Coppel and Karl-Heinz Hansen, have formed a socialist party.

At the same moment, the so-called liberal groupings that emerged when the FDP's switched coalition partner decided to form a new liberal party.

Neither of the two parties stands much of a chance. In all likelihood, they will vegetate on the far left of the political landscape, the socialist party in particular. It will have to vie for support with Communists of all shades, the Greens and other groupings.

In their heyday as SPD dissidents, Coppel and Hansen were frequently given space in the media. Today, they are virtually forgotten because they have no following outside the narrow confines of their constituencies.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 December 1982)

It is certain that Kohl will go on the offensive on security policy, stressing his loyalty to the Alliance and German-American friendship.

As he said in his first policy statement, this is for him the most important issue of German politics. But above all it is also the very essence of his personal foreign policy concept — so far as such a concept has emerged at all.

But the issues will not be so clearly structured in the public debate. The actual problem is in fact quite different. What will matter in the campaign months will not be loyalty to the Alliance and other major policy issues but the NATO decision and its political significance.

Right now, there is evidence that the decision is becoming progressively subject to dogma. It was made almost exactly three years ago, with the emphasis almost exclusively on the approaching need to deploy the missiles and the need to prepare the ground both politically and psychologically.

It is this rather than alternatives in terms of security policy that political imagination is concentrated on now.

It is in this light that we must see Kohl's rephrasing of Nato from "Western defence alliance" to "a community of values". The same applies to his repeated criticism that there is too much talk of weapons instead of pondering the values that are to be defended with these weapons.

This creates the impression that everything is a foregone conclusion and that the only question that still remains open is whether or not the 108 Pershing II nuclear missiles are to be deemed an adequate deterrent for the 300 SS 20 missiles the Soviet Union is said to have deployed.

Kohl in the Bundestag: "For us, for the federal government — and here we have clear American commitments that have been reaffirmed — all that matters

is what we have agreed on. This applies to both parts of the two-track Nato decision and thus also to the agreed-upon number of missiles to be deployed..."

But then, the old government also affirmed time and again that it would abide by the Nato decision.

It was, after all, a German idea to link the missile deployment as demanded by the USA with a disarmament offer to the Soviet Union.

If this not been done, the Dutch would not have agreed.

But since the new government took over in Bonn, the negotiations part of the Nato decision has been de-emphasised. In the new government's view, negotiations on the reduction of intermediate range missiles fall only in the province of the Americans.

In purely technical terms, this is correct. The Europeans are not a party to the Geneva talks. But as the most important country for the deployment of the new generation of missiles, the Federal Republic of Germany has a right to be heard at the talks, if only in an advisory capacity. This includes the drafting of possible alternatives to or variants of current Nato blueprints.

It is obvious that this cannot happen publicly. But the present government is doing nothing about it behind closed doors either; and this is an important point where this government differs from its predecessor, despite the fact that most of their foreign policy views coincide.

There is Bonn and there are the Geneva talks; there is Helmut Kohl and Germany's new modesty: this way the missiles could become an election issue.

But the question at stake goes far beyond an election campaign and applies regardless of an impending election: are our interests better served by the deliberate reduction of the German role in East-West relations, as is being done by Kohl, than by the previous government's active — and at times unilateral — search for a way out of danger?

These are two different and indeed conflicting concepts. This question was answered almost exactly ten years ago in the 1972 election campaign.

Werner A. Perger.
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 5 December 1982)

As a result, the best that can happen is a temporary coalition.

What is happening now is that another splinter has separated from the liberal parent party, a grouping that joined the FDP during the student unrest of the 1960s hoping for a permanent pact between the working class and an "enlightened bourgeoisie". But this is a particularly burdensome legacy if the new party wants to be taken seriously.

The new party will have to come up with fundamental statements on such conflicting issues as loyalty to the state and extremism in the civil service; right to education for all without enough skilled jobs to go around; a liberal order and socialist distribution of wealth ideology — to mention but a few.

The liberal parent party sees its salvation in a pragmatic opportunism. The "alternative" left liberals pin their hopes on a continued partnership with the SPD. But that is hardly enough for a platform.

The only way the liberals can survive as an independent political force is to draft and implement a policy of their own rather than wooing a partner. But it is this very independence that the new party lacks.

Franz Fegeler
(Nordwest Zeitung, 29 November 1982)

POLITICS

The unseen face of government: how Helmut Kohl runs the ship of state

Despite a casual nature, Helmut Kohl keeps a tight rein in the Cabinet room. Ministers can talk it out on any issue, but if they begin repeating themselves or start waffling, he puts the brakes on.

There is one exception: Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl ("Brother Josef") has always, even under Helmut Schmidt, been allowed more leeway.

An example of the Kohl Cabinet-room style: discussion about assistance for the ailing steel industry in the Saar had been running for some time but half a dozen ministers still wanted to put their view.

The Chancellor cut the debate short. He said that everything that needed to be said had been said. There was no need for more discussion "just so that a few more people can get their names in the minutes."

Kohl himself has no fixed method of putting his own views. Sometimes he says what he wants to at the very beginning. Sometimes he comes in the middle of the debate. Or he waits until the others have all had their say.

At Cabinet meetings there is none of the long-windedness that used to be typical of Kohl when he was the CDU leader in the Bundestag.

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, who is a fanatic of unadorned precision in presenting a case, said about Kohl: "He does the job as if he'd done it all his life."

The work at the Chancellery itself does not run quite as smoothly as one would expect of a government machine.

The top civil servants at the Chancellery seem to be still in the dark as to whether the new Chancellor intends to run things along Helmut Schmidt's lines or whether the Chancellery is to atrophy into a mere bureaucracy.

Schmidt not only insisted that everything go through the right channels; he also asked to be briefed by the Chancellery staff which had one special assistant for every government department, i.e. Ministry.

Schmidt also wanted to have the weaknesses of and anything illogical about Cabinet decisions pointed out to him; also hidden discrepancies between the individual Ministries.

Choosing his questions carefully, he then embarrassed many a Minister by confronting him with the inconsistencies in his argument.

Helmut Kohl, on the other hand, has been making much less use of the Chancellery's machinery. He has never liked reading files although he is always well prepared at Cabinet meetings. Frequently, he makes spontaneous suggestions or impulsively reaches for a telephone to settle an issue.

He depends heavily on the hand-picked men he has brought to the Chancellery and whom he has known for many years. The head of the Chancellery, State Secretary Waldemar Schreckenberg is a good example: he worked for Kohl at the Prime Minister's Office in Mainz.

Schreckenberg is always at Kohl's side. It doesn't matter if Margaret Thatcher is visiting Bonn, or Kohl is in Washington.

The Chancellor insists that Schreckenberg makes himself familiar with

Helmut Kohl has been in office since October 1. How does he run his team? What is his style? And how does his method of operation compare with his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt? Volker Jacobs gets behind the scenes in this article for the *Saarbrücker Zeitung*.

the full range of government work. That also means personally meeting foreign dignitaries.

The 16 ministries produce a huge volume of files and paperwork. The most important go via Schreckenberg to the Chancellor himself and the others.

The result is that whenever the head of the Chancellery is away for some time, the files keep mounting on his desk, causing bottlenecks in the system.

Another change since Kohl took over is the inner circle. Schmidt had his "clover leaf" consisting of the government spokesman, the head of the Chancellery and Parliamentary State Minister Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski. This round occupied itself primarily with the drafting of concepts, acting generally as a think tank on current issues and putting forward political recommendations.

Every morning at 9 a.m. there was also a briefing led by the head of the Chancellery and department heads. It was here that the day-to-day agenda was prepared.

Under Kohl, there is daily meeting of State Minister Philipp Jenninger, Kohl's long-time friend Eduard Ackermann (formerly spokesman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and now head of a newly created department named Documentation and Communication) Foreign Affairs department head Horst Teltschik, Wolfgang Burr (who heads Kohl's personal office) and Government Spokesman Dieter Stolze. More are added as needed.

This circle is a blend of advisory council and bureaucratic instrument.

The firmer meeting of department heads — a regular feature under the Schmidt government — is now held only occasionally.

The assignment of department head posts at the Chancellery caused some raised eyebrows among the old-timers in the civil service.

The Foreign Ministry is miffed about Kohl's appointment of the political scientist Horst Teltschik as head of the Chancellery's foreign affairs department (he wrote his doctoral thesis on the Sino-Soviet conflict and was head of Kohl's office when Opposition floor leader) because this is the first time this post has gone to a non-diplomat — a post that had traditionally been reserved for a Foreign Ministry man.

The new head of the Chancellery's domestic affairs department is Professor Klaus König who used to teach at the Speyer Administrative Academy. He now devotes much of his time to re-organising his department — though he has so far been unable to convince the department's civil servants of the need for such changes.

Among the innovations here are a sub-department for the "evaluation of the implementation of government programmes" and another one for "media policy". The new department head of economic, financial and social affairs is Georg Grimm who was previously with the Economic Affairs Ministry.

Eduard Ackermann has a particularly prominent position on this level of government — if for no other reason due to his long personal friendship with Kohl.

Ackermann has been nicknamed *Ackerknecht* (plough serf) by journalists because of the patient way he has coped with drudgery under many floor leaders.

He is the only Chancellery department head whose office is not in the building that houses the other departments but in the Chancellery itself. He only has to cross a corridor to get to the boss.

Ackermann is also to take charge of the office that produces the Chancellor's speeches. He usually accompanies the Chancellor to important meetings,

and it is he rather than the government spokesman who briefs Kohl on international press. There is a clear signal for a conflict of interests between him and Government Spokesman Volker Jacobs.

According to one person who regularly attends these morning meetings this set-up has already revealed its weaknesses. The press briefing heavily domestic affairs oriented national politics play a secondary role. And naturally the government spokesman does not come into his own.

He has been stripped of the opportunity to set accents at the meetings and draw attention to what he considers important.

As a result, one of the top men in the Chancellery is the relationship between Ackermann and Stolze.

On 12 November, it was the Press and Information Office that the first Bonn office to learn of Gorbachev's death because of its monitoring Radio Moscow.

Stolze was informed only a few minutes later and he instantly informed Kohl, who was in the Bundestag at the time.

The role Dieter Stolze will play as government spokesman will largely depend on how he manages to get information — and the number one source of information is Helmut Kohl. He can be tiresome on this score.

Journalists know that whenever he has nothing to say or does not want to say anything, all they get from him is irrelevant information. But interesting information is not even as much as that.

One of his co-workers in the Bundestag described the process of obtaining information from Kohl, "With him it's not enough to tell you your hand; you've got to tell him."

But for the rest Stolze seems to be settled down comfortably. As spokesman for one ministry — who in office before the change of government as well — puts it, working with Kohl is smooth and has fewer problems than with many of his predecessors. The spokesmen of various departments frequently allowed Stolze's predecessor Kurt Becker to run into traps laid by journalists at press conferences — and smirked at his expense.

Volker Jacobs
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 19 November 1982)

Chancellor confident about arms talks

Chancellor Helmut Kohl is optimistic about the outcome of the Soviet-American disarmament talks in Geneva.

During his first visit to the Bundeswehr as Chancellor, at the Koblenz garrison, Kohl said that he now for the first time had reason to be optimistic because he had received encouraging signals from both Moscow and Washington.

After attending military exercises, he told the troops that the precondition for successful negotiations was steadfastness by the West in matters of defence.

This included preserving the striking power of the Bundeswehr and keeping to the Nato decision to deploy new intermediate range missiles in Europe if the Geneva talks fail.

Kohl told the troops that his visit to the Bundeswehr after only eight weeks in office was intended as proof that one should not only demonstrate against but also for something.

His visit, he said, should be understood as a demonstration of his regarding the armed forces as an integral part of society.

After the national elections on 6 March, his government would seek a wide-ranging discussion with young people about the meaning of national defence, its historic background and justice regarding military service.

(Hendelblatt, 30 November 1982)



A soldier's eye view... Chancellor Kohl looks at Bundeswehr exercises from close up.
(Photo: Sven)

MINORITY GROUPS

Worker-company project for Turks who want to go home

Many workers wanting to return home and go into business can get help from an agency in Frankfurt.

They choose to enter an arrangement with workers' companies.

Reinhold Jelden, head of the agency, called the Centre for International Migration, is reputed to be the brain behind the workers' companies.

The aim is that instead of just remitting money back home, a foreign worker will invest in small and medium-sized businesses.

It helps the country's (in this case Turkish) economic development and helps ensure that the worker has a stake in Germany.

There are 233 Turkish workers' companies organised to some degree. About 100 are in operation. Farming and construction are the main industries, in addition with the rural backgrounds of many in Germany.

Some come leather, textiles and clothing by steel, mechanical engineering and motor vehicles.

Most are joint-stock companies in which individual workers have invested anything from a few hundred to DM30,000.

Only a Turkish daily newspaper in Kestelbach, near Frankfurt, German customs records indicate an increase this year in the number of Turkish workers returning home for the first time.

There have been about 7,700, or twice as many as last year. But returnees of this kind are a serious risk. Will they be able to make a living for themselves and their families?

They are usually skilled workers and stand a fair chance, by virtue of their qualifications, of establishing themselves as suppliers and contractors to larger firms back home.

Yet despite lower wages an increasing number of Turks are willing to return home and work in the firm their cash has helped to launch.

This, says CIM's man in Stuttgart, Hans C. A. Müller, is partly because the low cost of living in Turkey to some extent offsets the wage differential.

Besides, most Turks would prefer to live in their own country if they could make ends meet.

A TV documentary recently screened on Channel 3 described life in a Turkish village where eight of the 15 men

The jobs they create are not intended primarily for returnees. Most investors hope their investment will provide for the family back home.

They also hope it will contribute toward an industrial infrastructure that will make it easier for them to return and set up in business on their own one day as, say, suppliers and contractors.

The wages paid at factories in Anatolia are a pittance for Turkish workers in Germany.

The top wage for industrial workers at Otomarsan, an Istanbul commercial vehicle factory in which Daimler-Benz hold a stake, is three marks an hour.

That is peanuts compared with what Turkish workers can earn doing similar work here. Small wonder that returnees are said to wreak social havoc in Turkish firms.

"They learn in Germany that workers are entitled to one thing and another," says Reinhold Staib of the Baden-Württemberg Labour Ministry.

He recently returned from a tour of Turkey, where he accompanied Labour Minister Dietmar Schles in a delegation that visited workers' companies there.

Bosch-Türk, he says, have a mere 10 returnees among a payroll of several hundred.

Workers' companies employ 11,000 people in all. About six and a half per cent are returnees, says Staib.

Turks who have worked in Germany and grown accustomed to German wages aim mainly at setting up in business on their own.

They are usually skilled workers and stand a fair chance, by virtue of their qualifications, of establishing themselves as suppliers and contractors to larger firms back home.

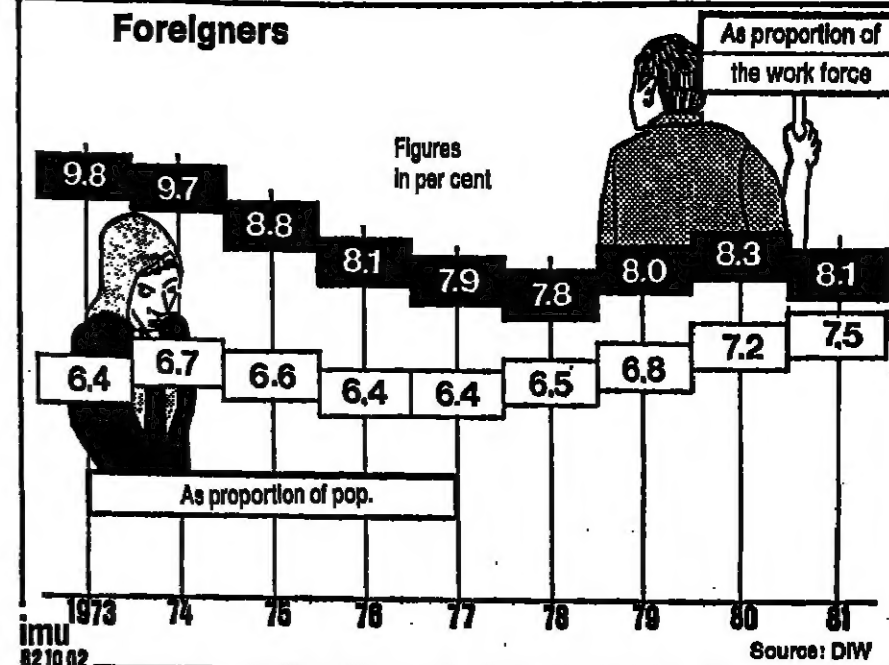
Yet despite lower wages an increasing number of Turks are willing to return home and work in the firm their cash has helped to launch.

This, says CIM's man in Stuttgart, Hans C. A. Müller, is partly because the low cost of living in Turkey to some extent offsets the wage differential.

Besides, most Turks would prefer to live in their own country if they could make ends meet.

A TV documentary recently screened on Channel 3 described life in a Turkish village where eight of the 15 men

Foreigners



who left to earn a living in Germany had returned home.

They felt homesick for their accustomed rural surroundings and country customs, understandably so given the world of difference between rural Turkey and life in Germany.

But for the most part the struggle to make ends meet prevails over feelings of homesickness.

Workers' companies are one way of changing the situation back home in such a way as to make it easier to go back. A Turk who is interested in joining forces with others in this way is welcome to consult CIM.

Specialists at the Frankfurt agency compile a report on location and products. The idea alone is not enough; the demand must exist or, in the case of exports, the transport facilities.

CIM also runs seminars, mainly in middle management. Costing and marketing have to be learnt.

In some cases Turkish workers' companies work hand in hand with German firms that chip in with licence agreements or management know-how.

Assistance is also lent by specialists seconded for a year or two by German companies to help the Turkish firm train manpower of its own.

The financial groundwork of the entire scheme was laid in the 1972 Ankara Agreement. It also forms the basis of the special credit fund, which Herr Jelden says has been replenished this year.

Low-interest loans to set up companies in Turkey are an important prerequisite and, given the difficult economic situation in Germany, more realistic than one-off grants to returnees.

In many cases returnee grants would

merely be applied for as an extra perquisite by people who were planning to go back home in any case.

The special credit fund it funded in equal shares by Germany and Turkey. It makes loans to individual applicants and workers' companies submitting sound plans for business investment.

Some 257,000 Turkish workers in Germany have invested more than DM1bn in workers' companies, says the Frankfurt agency.

They have created jobs and contributed toward a more regionally balanced economic structure in their country of origin.

Once factories are established on a sound footing, the demand for services increases. Once tractors start rolling off the assembly line, mechanics are needed to service them.

The tractor mechanic could take over from the village blacksmith, says Herr Müller.

The head of a Turkish works where engines are assembled told the delegation headed by Herr Schlee that for each job on his payroll 13 jobs were created among contractors and suppliers.

Herr Staib says the idea of workers' companies is extremely interesting. He plans to check with employment exchanges how unemployed Turks might be given a better idea of prospects back home.

Unemployment among Turkish workers in Germany is high, over 10 per cent, and there can be little doubt that many Turks would be happy to return home if they felt they could earn a living in their native country.

Suse Weidenbach/dpa
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 November 1982)

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BUSINESS

Big top-level shake-out at Flick industrial group

The huge Flick industrial organisation is going through a major shake-up at top executive level. The changes come on the heels of an announcement that the public prosecutor is investigating tax concessions made to the firm. Several politicians have been involved in the allegations. The shake-up means the end of Eberhard von Brauchitsch's reign at Flick. The new chairman in charge of the group's domestic operations is to be Hans Werner Kolb, now chairman of Buderus AG, according to a Flick announcement.

In business circles, they have always been referred to as a "tandem": billionaire Friedrich Karl Flick, said to be Germany's richest man, and Eberhard von Brauchitsch, his right-hand man and former school friend.

Except for a two-year break, Flick and von Brauchitsch have been working together for the past 22 years.

Not only do the two, through the firm of Flick, control close to 50,000 employees and annual sales of DM17bn, they are also regarded as Germany's most influential men in finance and industry. But their influence is usually exerted from behind the scenes.

It was thus no coincidence that von Brauchitsch was also appointed president of Germany's influential Federation of German Industry — a post he resigned over the growing scandal surrounding the firm's alleged donations to politicians and political parties, now being investigated by the public prosecutor.

The tandem appears to have broken up now on Flick's initiative, with shock waves extending to the entire executive floor.

The reshuffle includes not only von Brauchitsch but also major stockholders Arnt Vogel and Klaus Götze, following the resignation in the spring of Rudolf Diehl and Schmidt-Hern.

And since the names of top politicians have repeatedly been mentioned along with those of Flick and von Brauchitsch in connection with the donations affair, the shock waves have rippled to Bonn as well.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambdordff is indirectly implicated, because of the suspicion that he assisted Flick in obtaining a DM400m tax relief in connection with the sale of DM2bn worth of Daimler-Benz shares.

Count Lambdordff has been under investigation by the Public Prosecutor's Office since last February.

The affair became publicly known due to the proverbial German thoroughness when members of the prosecutor's office went through some 100 Flick files and came up with a number of curious annotations made by von Brauchitsch.

In the notes von Brauchitsch expressed doubts as to whether the tax exemption for his concern's DM780m acquisition of a 28.5 per cent stake in the American Grace Company (annual sales in excess of DM15bn) was actually legal, as the Economic Affairs Minister had claimed at the time.

This file created a dangerous situation: either the Economic Affairs Minister along with the Finance Minister had been deceived in the application

for the tax relief or the concern had abused the (recently rescinded) Foreign Investments Act. So Flick omitted to inform the authorities retroactively that the envisaged "international division of labour" under which the tax relief was claimed proved unfeasible in the end. If this were the case, the whole thing would boil down to no more and no less than tax evasion.

Bonn has adopted a wait-and-see attitude — for the time being anyway. On 10 November, the Economic Affairs Ministry wrote a letter pointing to the note in the files and asking for clarification by the end of the year.

Friedrich Karl Flick, 55, has been in the headlines continuously since 1975 when he sold the Daimler-Benz block of shares, amounting to 29 per cent of the company's stock and worth DM2bn. He retained a ten per cent stake in Daimler-Benz.

The remaining members of the family received a settlement at the time, and Flick formally became the sole ruler over the empire.

The taxable profit on the sale was DM1.9bn because the Flicks had bought the stock for only DM100m. Von Brauchitsch had long been seen as the true ruler of the concern. He was hired in 1960 by the late Friedrich Flick; but ten years later he had a clash with the son Friedrich Karl. This prompted him to leave Flick and go to the Springer publishing empire. However, the terminally ill elder Flick asked him to return in 1972 and made him one of the top executives of the family empire in his last instructions. But it is controversial whether this was intended only until 31 December 1982 or whether it was meant as a lifetime appointment.

There has been a dramatic worsening in the finances of Germany's state railway, the *Bundesbahn*. Losses for the current financial year are expected to be DM4.6bn.

Earnings in the first nine months of the year were DM11.1bn, or DM1bn lower than anticipated, despite two price increases.

President of the *Bundesbahn* Reiner Gohlke says he expects reduced operating costs (which will probably be down by DM800m) to keep the annual loss to DM600m more than last year.

This all means that the organisation's total debt will rise to a staggering DM38bn this year. The prospects for next year are just as bleak. There is little doubt now that the debt will rise to DM50bn by 1984/85.

The new Bonn government is not coping with the problem any better than the former one. The *Bundesbahn* did not even get a mention in Chancellor Kohl's policy statement in the *Bundesstag*.

And what Transport Minister Werner Dollinger has so far said gives no indication of any change in policy.

According to Gohlke's predecessor, Wolfgang Vaerst, when he handed over the presidency, the troubles are because there hasn't been a transport policy in the past decade.

The *Bundesbahn* itself and the new board are not the main culprits. The new board says it is determined to run the organisation on a commercial basis.



A parting of the ways... von Brauchitsch (left) and Flick.

Von Brauchitsch himself asked for understanding for the fact that all he could say on the issue was "no comment." This, he said, also applied to the question whether he will leave the Flick concern altogether.

It was probably von Brauchitsch who at the time promoted the sale of the Daimler-Benz shares. His idea was to use the money to restructure the concern, banking on tax exempting under the controversial Section 6b of the Income Tax Law and on the Foreign Investments Act.

But the grand design seems to have failed. Though Flick stood to save about DM800m in taxes from his stock transactions, the re-investment of the gains has provided him with little joy so far (majority stakes in Buderus, Dynamit Nobel, Feldmühle and Gerling).

Flick, whose original intention after 1975 was to invest only selectively, later realised that re-investing the money in the concern was much less profitable than his investment in Daimler-Benz.

Railway's losses get bigger and bigger

But it won't be able to change the situation. Its scope of action is narrow, just like the former board's.

The problems did not arise as a natural disaster but are essentially due to omissions by the system's owners, the Bonn government.

The *Bundesbahn* board has stressed time and again since the mid-1970s that in a modern national economy the railway can fulfil a meaningful function only if it is handled as a service industry whose supply is geared to demand.

But this realisation has led nowhere, apart from the fact that debt rose from DM1.6bn to DM38bn between 1971 and 1982.

There are two major problems that must be solved before the company can be put on a sound economic footing. And neither of these problems can be solved by the board:

● The operation in terms of both quantity and quality must be adapted to demand;

● Bonn, as the owner of the system must draw a clear line between the public benefit function and its entrepre-

The sale of the stock seems to have been a huge mistake. In any event, the dividends have been meagre except Grace, Dynamit Nobel lost DM30m last year, Buderus was down DM2m and Feldmühle only just managed to break even.

There is much to indicate that the Flick-von Brauchitsch friendly bond derived on the concept for the future of the world — East and West, and South — into disaster.

To achieve this, he must emerge from the concern's Düsseldorf headquarters which has in any event been at odds with the head of the group, Flick, in Munich. The donations which could provide Flick with a welcome boost to his empire are equally bleak.

Flick's official press release, "Dr. Friedrich Karl Flick intends to streamline the management of the concern. Negotiations to that effect are now in progress." But who is the management?

Leonhard Spielholz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 November 1982)

Five Wise Men are wrong saying that is conciliatory: he is anything but conciliatory in his statements on the German and the American railways. It is possible that his criticism is due to the fact that the Depressions of the 1930s was also to some extent caused by excessively restrictive bank policies.

Huge amounts of the money set aside for investments thus go into maintaining an unproductive infrastructure instead of being used to make the profitable parts of the network more efficient.

No government railway can be run on purely commercial principles, but goes too far when mayors, district councillors, state transport businessmen and members of the public — none of whom bears any financial risk — successfully demand that thousands of kilometres of tracks be serviced by empty trains.

Quite apart from the burden of pension payments amounting to an annual sum of DM3bn (pensions that should come from the Bonn Labour Ministry rather than the *Bundesbahn*) the railway's greatest losses come from commuter services.

Long-distance traffic, on the other hand, at least breaks even. Though freight business does not quite break even, there is still some scope for rationalisation here.

But even the deficit-producing commuter operation is not uniform. Its

Continued on page 7

THE ECONOMY

Winter of discontent looms, warns Schmidt, as 1930s-type pessimism spreads

High drama this winter is possible if leading industrial countries lose touch with reality over unemployment and if this is followed by a push by an international cartel, says Helmut Schmidt.

Schmidt said this in an outspoken interview with *The New York Times*. But he said it might well be more dramatic if it is warranted. An uncontrolled unemployment and a further deepening of the crisis on the world's markets are avoidable despite pessimistic figures in the Western industrial nations (by 8 million to 30 million one year) and despite an internal debt of DM5 trillion.

So, concern that things could be spreading. In their latest report the Council of Economic Advisers of the Bonn government (the "Wise Men") speak of the danger of a decline of the world economy and a "loss of momentum," meaning that negative forces could bolster each other. Such a development could lead to a world — East and West, and South — into disaster.

For one thing, the structural economic changes and the tough anti-inflationary policies are now showing their first results in the Federal Republic of Germany, the USA, Japan and Britain. And, for another, the structural problems of today are more easy to master than those of 50 years ago, unemployment notwithstanding.

Moreover, today's crises can be managed more easily than those of 50 years ago, despite the lack of international leadership that Helmut Schmidt so deplores.

A look at the individual branches of German industry could give rise to both scepticism and confidence. First the negative aspects:

Most steel makers along the Rhine, the Ruhr and the Saar have "eaten up their very substance," as Thyssen AG chairman, Dieter Spethmann, who is also chairman of the Iron and Steel Industry Federation, recently



well. There are enormous structural problems now as there were then. At that time they were caused by World War I; today they are due to the oil shocks that started in 1973.

Central bank restrictions existed then as they do now, though new they are better controlled.

Cutbacks in public sector spending were a feature then as they are now, and the same applies to the paring down of public sector investments and tax increases.

Though the Bonn government under Helmut Kohl is less inept than Weimar under Heinrich Brüning, such measures are still dangerous.

Even so, there are differences that have convinced Bundesbank Vice-President Helmut Schlesinger that we are not headed for another Great Depression.

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Continued from page 6

ration in conurbation areas must be seen in a different light from that in the more rural areas.

One-third of what the *Bundesbahn* costs the taxpayer every year is accounted for by the commuter business, i.e. DM4.25bn.

Experts have figured out that every passenger in the conurbation commuter traffic is subsidised at the rate of DM2.35 per trip. But here the subsidy is has some use because it means that roads, and huge parking lots do not have to be built.

Rural commuter traffic is much more costly. Here the taxpayer subsidises every passenger at the rate of DM20 per trip. In this part of its operation, the *Bundesbahn* manages to cover only 22 per cent of its operating costs, and even subsidies to the tune of many billions have not raised this figure beyond 78 per cent.

Improvements cannot come from the *Bundesbahn* board; it is up to the Bonn owners to decide what they want — and pay for it.

Joachim Walter
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
19 November 1982)

put it in a letter to Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambdordff.

The last quarter of this year is for all of them the worst they have ever experienced. And if the first quarter of next year turns out to be equally disastrous, even hitherto fairly stable companies will have run out of ready cash.

The crisis of these companies is also a crisis of whole regions. With unemployment rates ranging between 12 per cent in Neunkirchen/Saar and 13 per cent in Dortmund there is hardly any chance of new prosperity.

Mechanical engineering, with its total payroll of 1.1 million and annual sales of DM125bn the largest group in the manufacturing industry, is suffering from a dramatic decline of orders. Especially many medium-sized companies in this heavily export-oriented branch of industry have had to cut down on production and lay off staff. But the big ones are also engaged in a rearguard action, as evidenced by the redundancies at Mannesmann and SKF.

The rapid decline of foreign demand has now been joined by a drop in domestic orders — and fewer machinery orders mean less investment; overall economic stagnation and rising unemployment in 1983 and perhaps 1984 as well.

The chemical industry, which showed a modest growth in the first half of this year, has been marked by deteriorating business ever since. Sales and output are declining from month to month, laments Bayer Chairman Herbert Gröne on behalf of the industry as a whole.

Here, too, the decline is due to the worldwide recession. And here, too, the drop in exports is aggravated by declining demand at home. Consumers are reluctant to buy — and this includes even goods like detergents and cosmetics.

Electrical engineering is essentially

not made at the speed on an express train but that of a snail.

The cutbacks that were introduced in the summer amounted to about 3 per cent, and another 2 per cent is to follow next year — making no difference to the passengers whatsoever.

The idea in the medium term is to discontinue all routes that cannot muster a minimum of 1,000 passengers a day. The *Bundesbahn* board realises now that it has no option but to shift its rural commuter traffic from rail to road.

Other suggestions (like that made by the influential Railway Workers Union) to attract more rail passengers through government measures have proved useless. The solution to the *Bundesbahn*'s problem won't come from the income side.

And since Bonn will be unable to pay more than the DM14bn it has just paid to the *Bundesbahn* it will have to come up with a new transport policy.

Improvements cannot come from the *Bundesbahn* board; it is up to the Bonn owners to decide what they want — and pay for it.

Joachim Walter
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
19 November 1982)

existing on old orders, despite the fact that sales have risen to DM118bn. The utilisation of production capacities has dropped from 81 to 77 per cent, and the payroll has been pared down 3.5 per cent. Demand from at home and abroad is equally poor, both in the capital goods and the consumer goods sectors.

The problems of AEG, Germany's second-largest in this branch of industry, illustrate the situation as does the situation as does the sale of a majority stake in Grundig (Germany's leading maker of home electronics) to a foreign buyer.

But there are also branches of industry with a more optimistic outlook.

Despite production cutbacks in October, the motor industry has weathered the recession well and has largely maintained its payroll. To some extent this even applies to the makers of commercial vehicles.

Though the auto industry's domestic sales are also flagging, optimists hold that the buyers have simply postponed purchases but intend to buy later — with the obvious positive consequences for the industry.

The business has been kept going by exports though demand in some buyer countries has declined.

The construction industry, one of the worst hit in this country, is also more optimistic now. The programmes introduced by the new government to promote the construction of private housing are likely to lead to more orders and take this branch of industry out of its worst order book position since 1950. Industrial construction and public sector projects, on the other hand, give little rise to hope for this industry.

Despite many worrisome aspects, the bright spots marking the German, American and Japanese economies seem to indicate that the world will be spared an economic disaster.

An important question in this connection concerns the policies to be pursued by the individual governments. It is not enough to try and create a mood of elation, as Ronald Reagan and Helmut Kohl have attempted to do.

And the appeal by Bonn's Family Affairs Minister Heiner Gelsler to "buy Mom a winter coat" in a bid to stimulate growth is unlikely to solve the problems.

Despite the necessity to cut back on some of the welfare state deadwood, the state will have to provide more financial impulses than it has been doing up to now.

What is needed, according to the Five Wise Men, is "supporting growth measures." What they mean is job-creating programmes, 16 of which have been launched in the past seven years — mostly with moderate success.

Such national measures to promote growth by boosting investments would have to be internationally coordinated. Former Bonn Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein has called for a common effort by the countries he has labelled the "Club of Five," i.e. the leading industrial nations that have brought their inflation rates down to five per cent.

Karl Schiller, who as a Bonn Cabinet Minister helped overcome this country's first economic crisis, calls for similar measures. But he goes a step further, saying that those who complain that such concerted action costs money should console themselves with the fact that "additional state deficits can more easily be accepted if several countries are part of the same drive and in the same boat."

Dieter Piel
(Die Zeit, 26 November 1982)

JP 11 1.5.83

winter weather that welcomed the EEC heads of government to Copenhagen was a far cry from one of the most pressing problems on their summit agenda.

Problems facing southern Europe were given priority: oranges, lemons, olives and wine. They were urgent because Spain and Portugal are due to join the Common Market in 1984.

Neither in Brussels nor in Copenhagen does anyone seriously still believe this deadline can be met.

All European Community countries are in favour of political integration with their southern neighbours, but economic integration is objected to by existing Mediterranean members France, Greece and Italy.

These three, with President Mitterrand of France as their spokesman, have for some time used their powers of conviction, coupled with shrewd administrative delaying tactics, to postpone accession of the Iberian countries for as long as possible.

M. Mitterrand has more than once clearly stated his motives. As he sees it, Portugal presents no threat, being agriculturally and industrially insignificant, relatively speaking.

But Spain as a full member of the EEC, especially the common agricultural market, would be a disaster from the French point of view.

Spanish fruit and vegetables are sure to compete strongly with French, Greek and Italian produce in an EEC market where they enjoy much less protection than the predominantly grain- and cattle-oriented agriculture of the northern countries.

"Europe must first put its own house in order," says Yvette Füllet, a French member of the European Parliament. "Only then can we enlarge."

PERSPECTIVE

Iberian farmers: harvest of problems for EEC

The northern countries have their misgivings about EEC membership for Spain and Portugal too. The new members would be an expensive addition as they see it.

Brussels Eurocrats estimate that the extra expense will make a 15- to 20-per cent increase in the EEC budget necessary.

In terms of the 1982 budget, with its total of roughly DM53bn, the extra cost would be about DM10bn.

The EEC budget is financed for the most part from value-added tax revenue in member-countries. At present roughly one per cent of VAT is remitted to Brussels.

Once the Common Market has increased in size from 10 to 12 countries, EEC officials in the Belgian capital reckon member-countries' contributions will have to be increased to at least one and a half per cent.

This is the point at which Bonn and Whitehall balk. They are all in favour of enlargement but strictly opposed to paying more for the privilege.

For the time being, French worries in connection with the agricultural market predominate. For farmers in the south of France the Spaniards are arch-enemies.

Every year they wage a weird trade war near Perpignan on the French side of the border with Spain.

In early summer, when lorries from

Andalusia head north with truckloads of fruit and vegetables bound for the Dutch and German markets, irate Provençal farmers lie in wait.

Armed with clubs and cans of fuel, they overturn the lorries full of produce marketed by their Spanish competitors and set light to them.

The French farmers well know why they resort to such drastic means. Once the cut-price Spanish tomatoes, lettuce and peaches have reached their destination they will sell like hot cakes.

Even in French shops they sell much faster than more expensive local produce. Every lorry that gets through means poorer sales prospects and even higher production surpluses for French farmers.

Last year alone, fruit and vegetable dealers in the Provence unable to sell ten truckloads of tomatoes chose to run over them with bulldozers in protest.

In Languedoc, west of Marseilles, 10 per cent of the apple and peach crops was either destroyed or processed into industrial alcohol.

One litre of wine in 10 from this part of the country failed to find a buyer. Similar tales are told in Greece and in the Mezzogiorno, Italy south of Rome.

Since 1970 Brussels has granted Spain and Portugal, as prospective EEC member-countries, a number of customs preferences.

That is why 80 per cent of Spain's agricultural exports already sell to EEC countries.

But these are quantities that seem fairly harmless in comparison with what is likely to flood the market once Spain is a full member and all trade barriers are lifted.

At one fell swoop the total area of land under cultivation in the European Community will increase by 30 per cent.

EEC vegetable output will be 25 per cent higher. Fruit production will be about 50 per cent higher. Olive oil reserves will be up nearly 60 per cent.

The Common Market will become self-sufficient in Mediterranean produce. High subsidies will encourage Spanish and Portuguese farmers to boost their yield to the utmost.

Developing countries such as Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, which have been able to export oranges, olives and wine to the EEC on preferential terms, will be the losers.

They stand to forfeit one of the major sources of foreign exchange earnings. Both economic and political ties with these countries will suffer as a result.

Brussels officials are also wondering how they are possibly going to handle the olive oil market. They say a 12-member EEC will produce a 230,000-tonne annual olive oil surplus.

It is a surplus that will be virtually impossible to sell on world markets. So a strict regime governing the EEC olive oil market seems inevitable.

What that means is that imported vegetable oil, especially soya-bean oil from the United States, will have to be made much more expensive by means of customs duties.

The aim must be to make olive oil so much more attractive in terms of price to the consumer that EEC consumers change their oil-buying habits accordingly.

Spanish fruit and vegetable exports will probably create surpluses too long as Spanish farmers can sell cheaper produce well in northern European markets it will be worth while to step up production.

Yet once Spain joins the Common Market Spanish oranges and tomatoes are expected to become more expensive. At present, or so EEC officials claim, they are, in some cases, selling at dumping prices in Britain and Germany.

For the Spaniards, boosting agricultural output is no problem technically. "If they wanted," says Raymond Gaudin of the EEC agriculture department in Brussels, "they could treble tomato output, for instance, from one year to the next."

Brussels would like to persuade Spaniards to exercise voluntary restraint in agricultural output. But that will not be easy.

The newly-elected Spanish Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, is keen to see the EEC as soon as possible, but he has no intention of making concessions.

"Under a Socialist government," EEC spokesman Charles Compagnon says, "negotiations with Spain are likely to grow tougher."

Señor Gonzalez has to offer his voters something or other; he can be expected to defend the earnings of Spanish farmers.

Portugal does not produce enough to be able to increase its export earnings within the EEC to any great extent. Its vital imports of agricultural products (milk, wheat and meat) will be more expensive.

At present Portugal buys these goods from northern European EEC countries at world market prices, which are lower than prices within the European Community.

Even in Spain's case the higher cost of imported EEC wheat, milk and meat may yet mean that membership is dangerous.

Spanish industry is particularly reluctant to join the EEC as a full member. Membership would mean Spain having to adopt EEC welfare and environmental legislation, both expensive.

At present the Spaniards enjoy the advantage of being able to sell their hand to manufacture at low cost into the other to sell their products in EEC countries virtually tariff-free.

A number of multinational companies, such as Ford, General Motors and Nissan, run production facilities in Spain for this reason to produce goods for the EEC market.

So Señor Gonzalez is sure to be in Brussels for as long a transition period as possible for Spain. By same token, other Mediterranean countries will be keen to negotiate similar terms for Spanish agricultural exports.

So full integration is likely to take several decades, Brussels experts warn. It will be more than has yet been needed to accommodate newcomers to the European Community.

In view of the general economic situation EEC countries are keener ever to protect their own interests and foremost.

Lorenzo Natali, Italian EEC commissioner responsible for the Mediterranean countries, has this to say about Spain in mind:

"We are a community and we must practise solidarity. If we were to announce the principle of solidarity I would not rate the Community's chances of survival very highly."

(Die Zeit, 3 December 1982)

Lufthansa's 2,203 pilots, co-pilots and flight engineers are put through rigorous training in flight simulators once every six months to maintain safety standards.

There are nine simulators at the Stuttgart training centre. They are full-scale replicas of cockpits ranging from the 737 to the Airbus.

In one of them you can make the haze outside, the Stuttgart airport, behind it is the Woldach river, the left the lights of Echterdingen.

Notably, for anyone who is not a pilot, you are on board a 747 slowly, exactly coming in to land on the airport runway.

The Boeing soon comes to a halt. The plane lands with a bump. The brakes are applied. The pilot and co-pilot are before them was put together by a digital computer. So the readings on the instrument panel and the noises and movements.

Frankfurt computer has tens of thousands of data about German and international airports at its fingertips.

The simulation created is perfect. The cockpit is mounted on six tilts. The hydraulic system enables the pilot to climb, to dive, to plunge into turbulence just like a real jumbo.

The supervisor flips a switch to the thick fog outside, to release the small of burning electric cables or three out of four engines fail in the 10 mile, it is reassuring to recall that it is still on terra firma.

Even in the worst of conditions, the pilot is still on terra firma. The pilot is still on terra firma.

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AEROSPACE

Pilots practise emergency drills in flight simulator

He says he has flown every model the airline has ever had in service.

On 51 occasions he has personally passed the strict test he has put thousands of pilots through as an instructor, a four-hour bone-shaker of reactions, nerves and qualities of leadership on board the simulator.

Pilots who fail the simulator test because they have a bad day can take a second attempt at short notice.

Once they have passed both the simulator test and the medical, the aviation authorities issue or renew the pilot's licence for a further six months.

So pilots are put through their paces twice a year, and not just in Germany. It's an international rule.

Simulators are designed and built by a handful of firms in America, Britain, Canada and France. Before they existed, training had to be carried out on the spot, which was expensive.

"To practise landing and take-off in Hong Kong," Herr Wolf explains, "we used to hire a helicopter and hop around between skyscrapers and hills."

"We had to memorise the landscape and possible approaches, and there was no other way of going about it."

It was much the same story elsewhere, although seldom as annoying and expensive as learning the ropes in Hong Kong, which has an airport disliked by pilots all over the world.

Günther Wolf has this to say about the sweat that breaks out on the brows even of veterans as they home in on Hong Kong:

"You have to just miss the last buildings and turn into the runway just in time to avoid crashing into the mountains. Otherwise you have had it!"

Next April the Frankfurt training centre will be fitted out with its tenth simulator, a A 310 Airbus cockpit. The 10 will have cost DM116m in capital investment.

Boffins work out the shape of things to come

They commissioned work on propellers and aircraft.

Measurements of aerodynamic resistance of railway trains were soon part of the research programme too.

By 1912 all major aerodynamic problems were felt to have been solved. The organisation was scrapped, having cost 22,500 gold marks.

Today several hundred specialist engineers, technicians and scientists work at a large research centre on the outskirts of Göttingen.

Their job is to solve the countless aerodynamic problems that still arise. Their facilities include computers, the most sophisticated technical installations and gigantic wind tunnels.

Models of the latest commercial and military jets are tested along distances in which three times the speed of sound can be reached.

Virtually no major achievement in aerospace research and development in recent years has been made without the

Training programmes for Lufthansa pilots cost about DM50m a year. A Boeing 737 pilot costs DM150,000 to retrain for the Airbus. The course takes three and a half months.

That's expensive but not anywhere near as expensive as it might be. An hour in the simulator costs about DM1,000. An hour's training on board a real jumbo currently costs DM38,342.

Training flights are noisy. People who live near airports would not be too keen on the exhaust fumes either. Lufthansa is not alone in having visualised the consequences:

"Civic action groups protesting against the noise of jet aircraft would shoot up out of the ground like mushrooms."

The tale is much the same elsewhere in Europe, so pilots come from all over the continent to train in Frankfurt: Italians at 9 a.m., Belgians at 10 a.m., and French, after the Germans, at mid-day.

Twenty-five airlines train their pilots here. Sharing the facilities cuts costs. Last year pilots with airlines other than Lufthansa logged nearly 9,000 hours in the simulators.

They paid roughly DM7.5m for the privilege.

Harmut Pfeiffer

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20 November 1982)

Limited reprieve for European air-control system

Eurocontrol, an air safety organisation to which Britain, France, Italy, Benelux and the Federal Republic of Germany belong, has been reprieved.

It will survive beyond 1983 but in a form that makes, in aviation terms, a united Europe an even more distant prospect.

The control centre in Maastricht is to be maintained, but the organisation will be stripped of executive power.

Maastricht will continue to supervise air traffic above 7,500 metres over Belgium, Luxembourg and north-west Germany.

The Dutch are also to entrust part of their air space to Maastricht, which has the latest equipment.

But the centre will in future be run solely by the four countries that make use of its services.

This compromise marks the end, for the time being, of a protracted, painful process in which the interests of the seven member-countries often clashed, defying reconciliation.

Not long after the Eurocontrol agreement was signed in 1963, Britain and France made it clear they were not going to transfer sovereignty over their air space to a European organisation.

This time round, with the treaty up for renewal, Britain and France insisted on executive powers being dropped. For Britain, France and Italy Eurocontrol is merely an administrative agency.

In two years' time the Dutch are to transfer supervision of their air space above 9,000 metres to Maastricht.

Further negotiations will decide whether the users will share the running of operations and similar practical details.

Bonn currently foots 69 per cent of the bill, and annual running costs total DM52.6m. It hopes to cut its share to about 40 per cent.

The losers would be the Belgians, who have been paying 11 per cent but using 40 per cent of Maastricht's capacity.

Given the progressive decline of the original concept, Bonn feels the compromise as negotiated is a success.

In north-west German air space above 9,000 metres it will transfer responsibility to flight control centres in Düsseldorf and Bremen.

A new concept will need to be drawn up to take Luftwaffe requirements into account.

There will be few changes to the status of the Karlsruhe centre, which was designed and built by Eurocontrol but is effectively run by the Federal Air Safety Control Authority.

As soon as the new agreements have been signed, Bonn will buy Karlsruhe from Eurocontrol and run it nationally, using German control tower staff, whose salaries are lower than Eurocontrol's.

Understandably, the current staff are unhappy about this development. Most have turned down the new contracts offered.

Bonn suggested a national take-over of Karlsruhe very early in the proceedings. Soon after construction work began it was clear that Karlsruhe would not be responsible for air space over eastern France.

This part of France has poor facilities and Karlsruhe boasts the latest equipment, but the French government insisted on retaining national responsibility.

So the 'grand design' drawn up 20 years ago is dead. The Bonn government regrets this is so but has accepted the less ambitious solution rather than set aside any idea of transnational air safety control facilities.

Klaus Müller

(Die Welt, 26 November 1982)

Politics at first hand

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ENERGY

25 years since the Atomic Egg brought nuclear research back to Germany

Nuclear research in Germany was re-established after the war 25 years ago, in 1957. That was when the research reactor at Garching, then just a country village just 12 miles north of Munich, came into operation.

Professor Heinz Meier-Leibnitz, who was involved with the project, remembers the day: "At midnight we called in at the village pub. The landlady donated a bottle of champagne to mark the occasion."

The Bavarian state assembly had started the ball rolling by unanimously passing temporary legislation governing the construction and operation of nuclear reactors.

It did so on the advice of Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Prime Minister, who was then Atomic Energy Minister in Bonn.

A week later Professor Meier-Leibnitz flew to America to buy a reactor. "I bargaining the price down to \$320,000," he recalls.

On the strength of this deal President Eisenhower's adviser on atomic energy offered him a post as European representative for US reactors.

He turned the offer down, preferring to supervise work at Garching.

When the uranium fuel rods were due to be lowered into position, no-one knew how to open the containers they were in.

Bavarian Cabinet Ministers used penknives to loosen the screws. Wilhelm Hoegner, the state's Social Democratic Premier, triumphantly said: "Long live radioactivity!"

To emphasise the point he proudly held aloft a uranium fuel rod five feet long.

The pioneer reactor was dubbed the Atomic Egg because of the pleasing shape of its metal reactor shell, an egg-shaped building 100ft in diameter and 100ft tall.

Core under water

It houses a swimming bath reactor; its core is 7.5 metres under water. The water the reactor; it also provides an effective radiation shield.

On either side of the pool there are massive concrete walls two metres thick. They do the trick. No member of staff has ever been found to have anywhere near the radiation danger level.

On average they have been exposed to no more than a twentieth of the permitted maximum. The reactor is run flat out on about 180 days a year, during which it uses about one kilogram of uranium 235.

The reactor is run flat out on about 180 days a year, during which it uses about one kilogram of uranium 235.

The nuclei of the uranium decay naturally by expelling two or three neutrons that can then split more atoms.

Neutron-absorbing regulator rods are used to limit or stop the process, ensuring that the chain reaction does not get out of hand.

In a research reactor it is not the heat that interests scientists. Generating atomic power is not their aim. They are interested in the neutrons released.



They are particles that can be used in many ways to sound out the innermost connections of our material world. Research activities extend from solid and liquid substances via biological organisms to nuclear and particle physics.

A wide range of discoveries and techniques developed over the past 25 years have made Garching a productive centre of neutron physics.

It has been joined by four Max Planck research institutes that make Garching a scientific Mecca. They deal with plasma physics, extra-terrestrial physics, astrophysics and quantum optics.

At Garching the Munich University

of Technology set up a physics department that was a model of university form. It was prompted by Nobel laureate Rudolf Mössbauer and his team, Heinz Meier-Leibnitz.

Munich University, the main university, also set up a physics department at Garching, where it runs jointly with the University of Technology a particle accelerator.

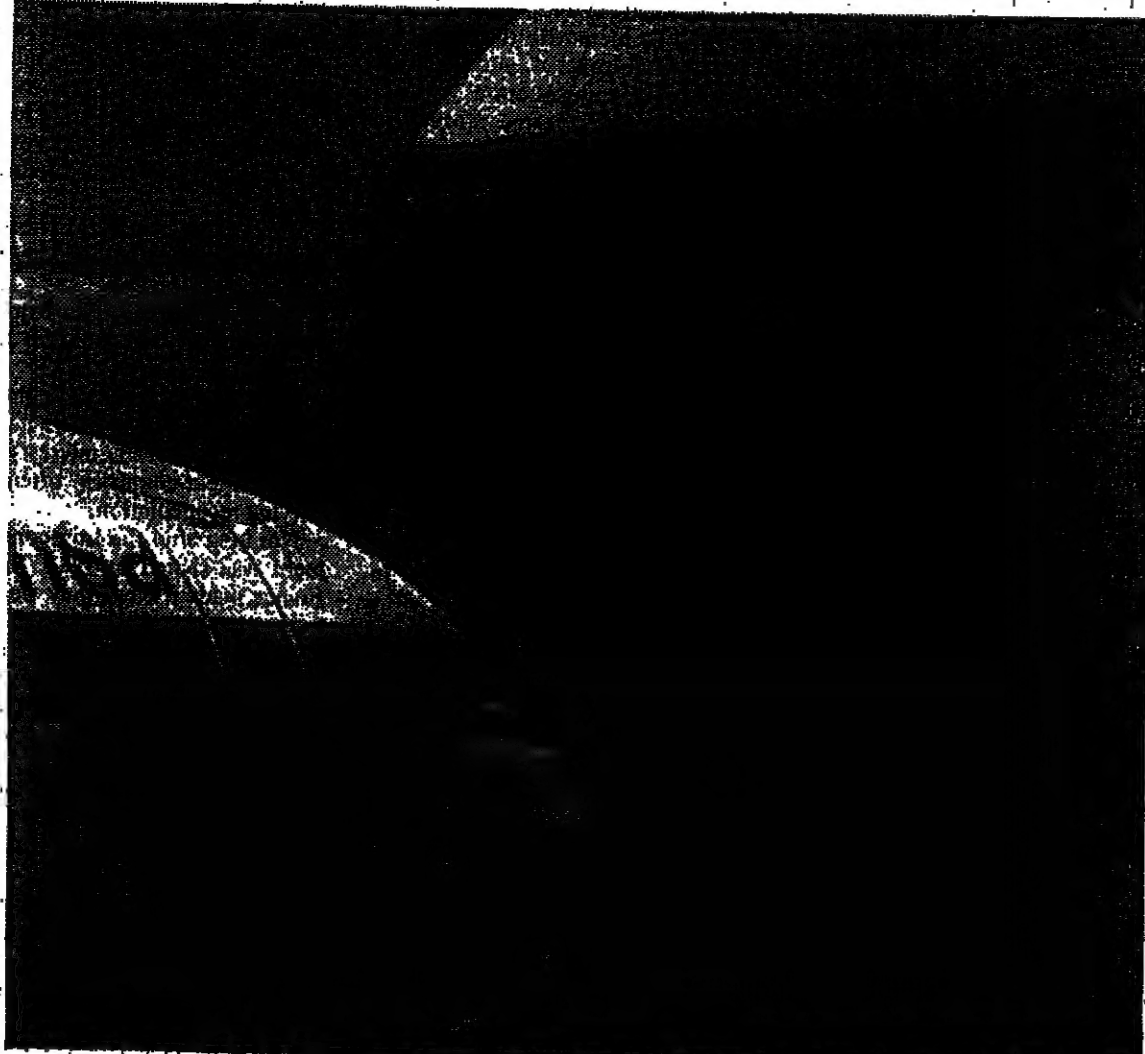
The Bavarian Academy of Sciences set up a cryogenics research institute in the erstwhile village.

About 4,000 people now work at various scientific facilities, and they go back to the original reactor at Garching's case, the chicken didn't come first.

Karl Stankiewicz/Rolf H. Schmidt
(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 November 1981)

"Lufthansa consistently is among the leaders of the industry in both innovation and efforts towards modernization."

Air Transport World (New York) No. 1/1981



The Lufthansa fleet is probably the most up-to-date in the world. Not only that, Lufthansa's standards of maintenance are second to none. Which is why we can offer you a smoother running operation all over the world.

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MUSIC

How foreign composers find their new beat in Germany

More than a generation ago leading German composers such as Arnold Schoenberg and Paul Hindemith lived in

the Federal Republic of Germany. Very much part of the international New Music scene and a new era for many musicians who themselves migrated.

A trend began just after the war. Darmstadt holiday courses in New Music, which began in 1946, were one of the starting points.

They were launched incidentally by, among others, Wolfgang Fortner. He died last October and is still going

strong. Music may be unpopular, but it is a undeniable fact that western Germany was a Mecca of musical progress in the 1950s.

Many not have been really aware of it, or have been able to come to it, but it is part of music history.

Many attracted composers like a magnet. They came from east and west, and south. Trends were set and many made on who was to gain a reputation.

And Boulez, Cage and Stockhausen are all cases in point, although they mean all the musical migrants who said to have sought exile in the Federal Republic.

Many Ligeti is a borderline case. He left his native Hungary in 1956 but has since outgrown it. So is Mauricio Kagel, who is extremely critical of his native Argentina.

He is by no means broken with it (the music, if anything).

For composers from Greece, such as Dimitris Terzakis and Iannis Vichopoulos, and from the English-speaking world, such as John Cage and John Cage, life and work in Germany.

They feel the opportunities are better not because they are in any trouble with their countries of origin.

It is likewise an inappropriate term for composers from the GDR, such as Tilo Medek, Wilfried Jentsch, and Kai-Inh Voigt and Uwe Kiedde.

In many respects, certainly in their early years here, they had much in common with the exiles.

A dozen composers interviewed for this article have, however, lived as

emigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany for shorter or longer periods.

For them there was no return to their native country (or, at least, for many years there was none).

Take José Luis de Delás, who was born in Barcelona in 1928 and came to Germany as a student. He decided in the 1950s not to return to Franco's Spain.

If he had, he would have been forced to collaborate with the regime and to go in for the cult of heroic music, or so he reasoned.

In Germany he was fascinated by the continuation of the New Viennese School and by ideas such as the critical philosophy of the Frankfurt School and its after-effects.

His relationship with his native country has long since improved and he is a keen supporter of Spain's young democracy, but his professional roots are in Cologne, where he is a teacher.

Bojidar Dimov, born in 1935 in Bulgaria, tells much the same tale as Delás. He moved first to Austria, then to Cologne to seek refuge, as he had dreamed of doing from his youth.

He fled from the confines of his na-



Isang Yun, South Korea.
(Photos: Detlev Gajowy)

tive Bulgaria in a quest for the wider, real world.

Back home his work for the piano worried his teachers stiff. Travel and exploring new avenues are two of his motive forces, he says.

There is, he says, no place for them in the "one-dimensional societies" of the Eastern bloc.

How many artists who chose to emigrate might not have been lost to their native countries if life had been made easier for them in this respect?

When Isang Yun, born in 1917, came to Germany from South Korea he never imagined it would be for good. He came to Berlin in the 1950s as a trained musician.

He there planned to learn from Boris Blacher and Josef Rufer the final touches of German musical culture, which continues to be highly rated in the Far East.

He conferred with fellow-countrymen on how more democracy might be practised in South Korea. Then, spectacularly, he was kidnapped and returned to his native country.

He was tortured and sentenced to death. The sentence was later reduced to a long term in prison after an international outcry and a protest by the Bonn government.

He was then released and allowed to return to Germany. His tale is told in Luitpold Rinsler's book *Der verwundete Drache* (The Wounded Dragon).

That was in 1968. Later that year the Red Army invaded Czechoslovakia and destroyed hopes of socialism with a human face.

Ladislav Kupkovic, a Slovak, chose to remain in Germany and is now a professor at the Hanover college of music.

He was an experienced musician and composer, having founded and run the Hudba Dneska ensemble in Bratislava. Born in 1936, he was a key figure in Czech New Music, which was going through a period of tempestuous development.

In those days there were holiday courses along Darmstadt lines in Smolenice, Slovakia. Kupkovic and his group had long been a well-known name among music-lovers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

So all he needed to do was carry on in Germany where he had left off in Czechoslovakia. But he decided to go in for teaching instead.

Arvo Pärt, from Estonia, was one of the most distinctive figures in Soviet New Music in the 1960s and 1970s. Born in 1935, he was determined to steer clear of the academic approach.

He sought to return to simplicity and to reduce means of musical expression in a manner reminiscent of the late Shostakovich.

Pärt's music, restoring links with early Gregorian and Byzantine work, might loosely be termed meditative music. It grew popular and remains so.

He was invited to take part in more and more concerts in the West. That made Soviet officials grow jealous, and he was subjected to more and more obstacles.

He finally decided to emigrate. His wife applied for an exit visa to Israel. From winter 1980 he lived in Austria. He now lives in Berlin on a grant from the German Academic Exchange Service.

He likes it in Berlin even though he is not yet sure what will happen once his grant runs out.

The youngest of the half dozen, and the most recent arrival, is Viktor Suslin, born in Russia in 1942. He belongs to the post-war generation, which has nailed meditation and improvisation to its mast.

In Moscow he and fellow-composers Sophia Gubaidulina and Vyacheslav Artemov set up an improvisation group, Astreya, using Russian and Central Asian popular musical instruments in experimental New Music.

Incidentally, they used neither sound alienation nor electronics.

As a musicologist he edited the Soviet edition of Richard Wagner's works. As a musician he was so uncompromising that he was bound to clash with Soviet officialdom.

He was entrusted with editing Charles Ives' Suite quartet and was angered when the Soviet censors insisted on changes to Ives' introductory text.

The conflict came to a head when work of his was played at a Cologne festival (without Suslin being in any way responsible).

He and six fellow-composers were pilloried at the Soviet composers' congress. He applied for an exit visa, was expelled from the composers' association and had to work as a road-sweeper for a living.

In summer 1981 his application was finally approved. He now works in and around Hamburg at music colleges and is trying to make a fresh start.

Asked how they came to terms with the change in circumstances, all six emigrés replied, surprisingly, that they had always had a positive attitude toward German culture.

Delás was keen on left-wing Frankfurt philosophers. Dimov had a soft spot for the international culture of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Isang Yun shared the admiration for everything German felt by many in the

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■ CHILDREN

Grading still makes its mark at school, thousands of times a year

School grades are awarded by the million: about 400 million a year by half a million teachers to 10 million pupils in over 300,000 classes.

Each pupil at school in the Federal Republic of Germany is officially graded about 40 times during the school year.

The total amounts to nearly two million grades a day, 300,000 an hour or about 5,000 a minute.

Educationalists have not only compiled these figures but also taken a closer look at the entire practice of grading.

A wide range of probes has been made over the past 12 years, with surveys being followed keenly by a wider public.

Video games harmless, says report

Kieler Nachrichten

Video games neither harm young people nor encourage aggression, says a report by two Hamburg University experts. They say the games are a powerful incentive to improve performance.

The authors, a psychologist and a sociologist, oppose proposed legislation to ban young people from using slot-machine video games in amusement arcades and bars.

A ban would be inappropriate. Youngsters, they say, don't get as excited about the games as adults.

But one of the authors disapproved of the more violent category of video game, the kind that amounted to explicit warfare.

Tests were carried out independently as part of a youth protection project. They took several weeks and involved 120 people in all age groups.

Children, young people and adults were interviewed. They were also shown video games of various kinds, from the comic variety to the outer space kind.

Children clearly realised the games were pure fiction. Besides, even frequent use of video game slot machines or TV games did not reduce other leisure activities.

Video games were a challenge and called for specific accomplishments, such as motoric skill, sensorimotor coordination and quick reactions.

Many young people were found to be keen to do well at video games even though they didn't feel the game itself was much good.

The Hamburg survey referred to earlier work on the effect of war toys, in connection with which there had been found to be no danger, neither sociological nor psychological nor criminological.

Rudolf Hänsel

(Kieler Nachrichten, 26 November 1982)



Conclusions reached are far from satisfactory. Grades are by no means always either clear, reliable or generally valid.

Gottfried Schröter of Kiel University Institute of Education is an expert who has made a name for himself with work on arbitrary marking of school essays.

He found that in more than 10 per cent of essays five different grades were awarded for the same piece of work and decided to take a closer look at the subject.

Professor Schröter's findings are published in the latest issue of *Westermanns Pädagogische Beiträge*.

Given the doubt that has been cast on awarding grades of any kind, it is surprising to note how few people favour scrapping them entirely.

Among both teachers and pupils a mere 10 per cent or so wanted to see marks abolished. An even smaller number, between 1.2 and 5 per cent, felt too few grades were awarded.

Fifty-one per cent of average adults felt grading ought to be kept roughly the way it was.

Another category was the highly-motivated: people keenly interested in how pupils were graded. Nearly one person in four in this category felt grading ought to be scrapped altogether.

They are the category who are particularly critical of the entire system of marking as it currently exists.

By average or non-highly motivated adults (or pupils) Professor Schröter means a random sample.

He questioned 411 such adults and

142 pupils, plus 142 pupils and 126 adults in the highly-motivated category, making each answer a 10-page questionnaire.

Unsolicited replies to a radio appeal were also evaluated. 161 adults and 196 pupils wrote in answer to a radio programme.

Sixty-four per cent of adults who wrote in of their own accord were in favour of the existing system. This may well have been because they were able to explain why.

The main reason they gave was that grades were a guideline for parents and pupils. Eighteen per cent felt they were an indispensable means of exerting pressure on pupils to perform better.

One in 10 event felt grades were a positive motivation and inducement (reward) for the pupil.

Nine per cent said they were largely in favour of the existing system because it was preparing the pupil for what life would later be like at work, where they were also required to deliver the goods.

Eight per cent felt grading was a necessary means of selection for work and study.

Thirty-seven adult letter-writers were opposed to grading. Nine said grades were never fair. Eight said they gave rise to anxiety. Five felt pupils were subjected to too much pressure in every way.

Pupils who wrote in after the radio appeal were even more disposed than adults to take an ambivalent approach.

While they were opposed to grading as such, they wrote, they realised they needed grades to be able to put in a job application.

Professor Schröter and his group have isolated the arguments for and

against and conclude, surprisingly, the prevailing view is in favour.

This is said to be mainly because pupils are keen to learn just how they stand in relation to others and how they have progressed.

The second most frequent argument is that without the pressure of many pupils would never learn anything.

Fourteen of the 196 pupils who wrote in said marks were important means of getting a good job. They felt they were a proof of and a reward for good work.

Pupils saw three main reasons for grades: equal in importance, the grades:

● If there were no pressure to form, school would be more fun.

● Many pupils were afraid of parents and what they would think if grades were poor.

● In senior school there was fierce competition that could ruin social friendships and solidarity among members of a class.

A mere four pupils said grades were no guide whatever to a pupil's merit.

Renate I. Mersch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 November 1982)

When the chips are never down

Many parents and teachers are worried that children who use calculators don't have a calculator. They don't have a calculator. They don't have a calculator.

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CIVIL DEFENCE

First come, first served in city's fall-out shelters

There is room for 17,500 people in fallout shelters of Frankfurt (500,000). In the event of nuclear war, 17,500 would gather in one of two World War Two bunkers converted in an emergency or multi-storey car parks which have been refurbished.

For tonight they might be able to protect against radioactive contamination and pressure waves, chemical and biological weapons.

Security they give is disputed. It certainly depends on distance from the epicentre of the explosion and weapons involved.

Handful of wealthy people have private fallout shelters at the bottom of their gardens.

They have no intention of capitalising on the situation, says a spokesman for Thyssen, a Dortmund company that is selling fallout shelters for

the Frankfurt branch office they unveiled their new model, the reinforced concrete container, a reinforced concrete container, a reinforced concrete container.

It is cylindrical with a shell 25 centimetres thick.

It is designed to be housed underground with at least 80 to 100 centimetres of soil on top. "It is not," admits Gottfried Haubrich, "the sort of man in the street can

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ment, on being asked how many private fallout shelters have been granted planning permission, says no figures are available.

Inquiries are referred to the central government even though applications are first handled in Frankfurt.

The Bonn government agency says it has no detailed figures either and refers inquiries to the inland revenue, which handles the tax incentive side of matters.

It too says it is unable to help, but suggests consulting the Hessische Landesbank, which remits the grants.

The bank refers inquiries to the state trustee's office in Wiesbaden. "We don't often handle applications," says a spokesman.

A senior local government officer in Darmstadt finally admits to having figures, at least figures referring to cases in which grants have been made.

Since the early 1970s only 123 private fallout shelters have been built in the entire region, he says. Since only seven are in Frankfurt it is easy to see why information is hard to get.

Shelter-owners' names are naturally not divulged. If names were known there might be a race to get to the shelter first.

The man in the street had better get moving the moment the first warning is sounded. "It's first come first served," says Wilhelm Thomas of the city's fire brigade.

Small wonder, with only four multi-storey car parks and two World War II air raid shelters to choose from.

The car parks can be converted at short notice. It will then be out with the cars and in with people, but 7,600 is the combined total.

The two Second World War bunkers have room for 800 and 1,500 people respectively. They cost the central government DM2m each to convert.

The car parks were subsidised on application by the original builders but have been run by the city for years, and Frankfurt is responsible for keeping them fully equipped.

Artesian wells were sunk to ensure a safe water supply. A further 19 World War II bunkers are intended to afford

protection, had about 2,000 in this year. They included all sectors of research, but information science and ecology had the highest growth rate.

Six out of 10 entrants are from *nasium*, or high school, but participation from other categories of schools far from unsatisfactory.

Four topics were on offer for entry this year to the political education competition, with about 100,000 essays being submitted to the Berlin office.

December is this year's deadline for topics are:

● Dropping out, at the quest for native life styles.

● Keeping the peace, but how?

● Television.

● The national anthem: a myth or history.

The German history competition launched at the suggestion of President Heinemann a mere decade ago has been extremely successful.

This year's topic was the war, and how ordinary people have experienced them.

At the gala performance the winners of the music competition played their own composition to the head of state, President Karl Carstens, on a record.

This year the combined performance was held under the aegis of the youth music competition. Karl Stankiewicz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 24 November 1982)

Frankfurt's civil engineering department.

three hours' protection from primary radiation, pressure and splinters.

But they are not safe in the event of a nuclear, chemical or biological raid. How safe, then, are the four car parks and two bunkers earmarked as fallout shelters?

"If you're going to exaggerate, with overkill and so on," says Herr Thomas, "we can forget all about it." He does not expect to have to open the shelters until the Americans and Russians have exhausted their conventional potential.

Interior decoration is spartan, with the emphasis on sheer survival. The walls are painted white. There are bunks for a third of the intake, benches for the rest.

There will be orderlies to organise the running of the shelter and mechanics to man and service the equipment. A doctor and nurses will provide medical care.

A bunk in the surgery is intended for use as an emergency operating theatre, but facilities will not be adequate for more than amputating a finger or removing an infected appendix.

Conditions will not be much better than in a field ambulance, Herr Thomas says, using a phrase that reminds one of Stalingrad.

Heating will be unnecessary because of body heat; cooling will be required. Hot tea will be laid on, but only for the sick.

A day's rations will consist of 1,000 calories: bread, jam, fat, carbohydrates. Food will be cold. It can be requisitioned from government depots or stores as required.

If the municipal sewage system is out of action the waste of 2,000 people will be pumped straight out into the contaminated open air.

At one of the refurbished bunkers the number of people who enter can be checked automatically. Mats between the hydraulic steel doors register the footsteps of people passing.

This information is relayed to the control centre on the first floor. As soon as 2,000 pairs of feet have been registered, the outer doors will close.

That is to say, it could be 2,001, but survival need only be a temporary respite in any case.

Why bother living after a fortnight's protection, only to return to a radioactive wasteland? Neither shelter manufacturers nor disaster relief workers answer this.

A fire brigade officer is more worried about the imitation leather of the seats in one of the bunkers. It is showing signs of decay after 10 years of not being used.

"We are testing preservatives," he explains, running a gentle hand across the smooth plastic.

Hermann Lammert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 November 1982)



"If you can find a better hole, go and jump in it" ... fall-out shelter for the back garden. (Photo: Poly-Press)

Nuclear disaster courses futile, say doctors

A group of doctors opposes nuclear disaster-relief medical courses. It says proper medical assistance would be impossible in a nuclear war.

A Hamburg doctor, Eberhard Weber, told a congress in Berlin that disaster relief courses began in 1979, the year Nato decided on missile modernisation.

There were grounds for suspicion that more than mere coincidence was involved.

The principal opponent of the courses is a group of Munich doctors calling themselves Medicine and Medical Responsibility.

A member of the group, Professor Herbert Bergemann, told the Second Medical Congress to prevent Nuclear War that it was unlikely that many would survive a nuclear bomb dropped on a medium-sized town.

Fallout would kill and seriously injure people up to 100 kilometres away, depending on the wind. Orderly medical attention would be out of the question.

Most hospitals would be destroyed, most doctors would be either dead or seriously injured and medical supplies would quickly run out.

More than 2,000 doctors, both German and foreign, attended the congress.

Even the most elementary hygiene would no longer be guaranteed, said Professor Bergemann. Surgery would be ruled out. Most food would be contaminated. So would the water.

He saw no possibility of requisitioning supplies from areas less seriously affected. Neighbouring areas would be badly hit, communications would be cut.

The explosion would knock out all semiconductor systems and with them the entire telephone network.

Epidemics would break out. The roads would be blocked by caravans of human misery.

One of the Munich group's main aims, the congress was told, is to make it clear to the public that proper medical assistance will be impossible.

That was why they opposed doctors being required to take courses in disaster relief medicine.

Weber quoted Professor Rosetti, a Swiss expert in civil defence and catastrophe medicine, as saying that the discipline contained aspects from all sectors of medicine, but mainly field surgery and medicine.

Members of the group were strongly opposed to the idea that in the event of a nuclear holocaust or similar catastrophe the emphasis should be on selecting patients suitable for treatment and transport.

Hopeless cases would then no longer be treated. Professor Rosetti, in a book published in 1980, lists as hopeless cases patients with serious chest injuries who need artificial respiration and patients suffering from cardiac arrest.

Five- to 35-year-old patients with burns covering more than half their bodies would also have no hope in Professor Rosetti's opinion.

So would people with multiple injuries, stomach and chest, for instance, with serious bruising and irreversible states of shock.

Dr Weber said no such screening or selection process could ever be necessary.

Continued on page 14

1982.12.15.60

LAW

Pistol totin' mother fires a bullet in the legal works

Hours after Marianne Bachmeier visited the grave of her 7-year-old daughter, she went to court and shot the man who was charged with murdering the girl.

The result is a situation without parallel in post-war German law: Frau Bachmeier herself now faces a charge of murder, but there has been such a massive outcry in her favour that doubts have been raised about the capability of the system to hold the trial.

Menacing letters have been sent to the prosecuting counsel. Murder threats have been made against the judges.

Although the affair is still *sub judice*, magazines and newspapers have been having a field day. So have lawyers, psychologists and psychiatrists in discussing motives, guilt and the penalty.

One magazine reporter has managed to create a 13-part series about the personal background of Frau Bachmeier in which he used information before it became available to legal experts.

It seems that the cause of truth may find it difficult to get served. When the tale is told in a crowded courtroom, it may be impressive, but "we've heard it all before" will probably be the cynical reaction.

The affair is turning into a nightmare for German justice.

The impartiality of the judges is seriously threatened by the plethora of activities.

Nuclear medicine

Continued from page 13

in the event of a conventional disaster.

He referred to a fire that broke out at a camping site in Spain where the principle of helping the most seriously injured first was observed.

That, he said, had been the only way of ensuring the survival of a number of people seriously injured.

Selecting allegedly hopeless cases for non-treatment by no means ensured as many people as possible would be saved. It went beyond the borderline of euthanasia and ran entirely counter to medical ethics.

Professor Barnaby, the British former chairman of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, said the nuclear arms race meant less security, not more.

Any civilised society was bound to doubt the moral credentials of policies aimed at killing two thirds of the population of an enemy country.

But political leaders on both sides were under strong pressure from the military establishment, the arms industry, military research and bureaucracy. The only hope of ending the nuclear arms build-up lay in equally powerful, if not more powerful, pressure from public opinion.

That could only be achieved if the peace movement were to more clearly outline the conventional alternative.

Military technology was so advanced nowadays that security could be ensured even without a nuclear capability by means of non-provocative conventional defence.

Morton Kern

(Daily Express, 31 November 1982)

Activities are motivated by commercial interests perhaps, arguably by a desire to show off, and undeniably by a mistaken feeling of solidarity among mothers that has even led to threats to murder the judges.

The pressure on members of the bench is so great that it could well go beyond what even a very independent person might be expected to take.

The right of the accused to a fair trial is in jeopardy. It remains to be seen whether the hue and cry about Frau Bachmeier's life story will do her harm or good.

The risks that could reduce the proceedings to the level of the absurd are, in contrast, clearly apparent.

Marianne Bachmeier is on record as having made four different statements in connection with the crime: one to the police, one to a magazine and two to court-appointed experts.

But before the experts could interview her the magazine reporter was able to note down most of what she had to say.

He wrote it up as a 13-part series going into her personal history and background, with dramatic reconstructed dialogues, inserted comments by third parties and exclusive diary entries to which the court experts have not had access.

Is this treatment likely to serve the cause of truth?

The journalist who interviewed her in custody was able to do so for an entire year. The examining judge gave permission without asking how her memoirs were to be published.

Was that not naïve? Surely he must have realised her memoirs would be read with relish by millions.

Yet permission was given at a time

when the annual conference of the German Law Association gave kid-glove treatment to the subject of Law and the Public.

The Bachmeier case could well go down in legal annals as a case in which the Lübeck judiciary were incredibly naïve.

Public opinion seems strongly in favour of "an eye for an eye" and of murderers getting what they deserve. But not the woman in the dock.

She may have shot and killed a man in court, but the usual opinion is that the victim, Klaus Grabowski, 34, thoroughly deserved it.

He may not have been convicted of murdering Anna, but millions of people seem to favour the death sentence in his case.

It is a strange difference of viewpoint when one bears in mind that homicide was involved in both cases. People seem to have nothing but contempt for the workings of the law.

The proceedings against Grabowski are felt to have been unsatisfactory, while Frau Bachmeier is alarmingly cast in the role of an avenging angel.

There is nothing new in demands for a return to the death penalty, especially in cases where children have been murdered.

But in this case the woman in the dock has been artificially cast in the role of an idol of the masses, with total disregard for the consequences of allowing people to take the law into their own hands.

No-one, for that matter, seems to be taking a closer look at the irrational feelings of guilt millions of people evidently have about an innocent victim.

Their hatred of the man who is felt to have killed Anna threatens to nip justice in the bud. The public are felt to be the judge of who is innocent or guilty.

No-one felt sorry for Marianne Bachmeier when she was raped (this happened some years ago in an unconnected case) but she is felt to be a public hero for having shot a man in open court.

The Bachmeier case is surely a case



Marianne Bachmeier... huge wave of public sympathy.

for reconsidering the standards which we all judge others and goes on around us.

As is so often the case, emotions tended to distract attention from the genuinely scandalous about the case.

The scandal was what happened to Klaus Grabowski. As a notorious offender he was castrated at his request and released on parole.

The operation had such serious consequences that he was unable to carry out his court requirements. A doctor suggested hormone treatment, but this was checked the result.

The doctor did his duty by himself with the foolish and coming idea that Grabowski would not court himself of the effect of treatment.

A dangerously indifferent legal chine claims a sick man tormented return of his sexual urges had only self to blame.

The Bachmeier case is also a bowdler case. It too is a judicial

Marianne Quast

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 November 1982)

Jail-the-cook demand in case of the policemen's hashish picnic



The prosecution has called for prison sentences of up to 22 months in the case of the hashish picnic by members of the Frankfurt police narcotics squad.

After a trial that took 13 days the prosecution claimed the accused, a 30-year-old CID officer, were partly to blame and guilty of grievous bodily harm.

On an outing in summer 1980 they are said to have persuaded a dozen fellow-officers to try home-baked hash cookies. They were ill and had to be given hospital treatment.

The defence called for a verdict of not guilty.

The chief counsel for the prosecution, Thomas Seifert, told the court the idea had been hatched by the woman officer, a person who was always keen on jokes.

When she learnt that a newcomer to the squad was a baker by trade she had asked him whether he could bake hash cookies.

The newcomer was keen to earn the

respect of his workmates and after initial misgivings had agreed to give it a try.

The man in the dock is said by the prosecution to have been brought into the affair because he was in a position to steal confiscated cannabis resin for the cookies.

He broke off 300 grams off a block of cannabis and rustled up a hash cookery book.

The cookies (they were actually croissants) were baked and served to unsuspecting fellow-officers as a practical joke. But 12 of them had food poisoning as a result.

Prosecuting counsel Gerhard Fuchs told the court both of the accused had been guilty of various criminal offences.

They included complicity in repeated theft of goods in police custody, offences against the Narcotics Act, grievous bodily harm and criminal lying.

The man, he said, deserved 22 months, the woman 15 months in prison. There could be no question of a suspended sentence.

Their behaviour was particularly reprehensible because the accused had

abused the special responsibility trust they enjoyed as CID officers.

In the narcotics squad their role had been that of the jokers in the pack. Their jokes had consistently been others' expense.

The prosecution was critical of officer in charge of squad, who was to have covered the accused rather than risk the squad being broken up.

Instead, the master-baker was put to have been solely to blame for earlier been given a suspended sentence of 18 months and dismissed for the force.

The two officers now on trial had pleaded guilty to the offence. Hans-Ulrich Endres, defending male accused, went at length into credibility of the master-baker, whose evidence weighed heavily against client.

He told the court there were no other officers who had been involved in the case.

The master-baker had always been own interest at heart, both in the past and during his trial. He had given evidence he had learnt by heart.

Bernd Kronen, counsel for the defence, had yet to sum up. The trial continues.

Norbert Lipp

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 November 1982)

SPORT

Soccer violence 'aim in itself, not a by-product'

ince involving soccer matches nothing new, but its character is changing. A group of Cologne sports

clubs, the 1920s and 1930s there were principally between social and groups, but the cause was what was happening on the field. Over-enthusiastic team support

researchers say that now the up is the end in itself. It has is nothing to do with the game.

report, Sport and Violence, is at a time when fighting on the pitch and in the stands at Bundesliga is commonplace.

The police are worried. The police are the public wants something to do. But if anything is to be done the aggression must be demystified.

own with a Bundesliga club

are pitched battles between of different clubs and bet- supporters and other spectators. Recent bystanders. People get

is a serious damage to property ground, to property between the and public transport. Subway and railway rolling stock get da-

Cologne report claims this has to do with the game itself: "as people," runs an allegedly quote from one soccer hooligan, usually go to football to watch

is triggered and influenced by factors. The more police there are, the prouder the hooligans

clapping with opposing supporters can lay their claim to glory and approval of others wearing their

newspaper, radio and TV reports encourage violence by overdra-

happens on the pitch naturally as an effect. Fouls upset some

is a true fan? Views differ. One might be that everyone in C wearing Eintracht colours is a fan. You can see they are, can't

fan says: "We either have the painted blue and black or the white and red. We have the

is a very little uniform ideology from superficial points held in

We are all basically neo-Nazi as they are. We are the Guevara too."

Comments suggest that they feel they are not a group. We almost only other. Closer scrutiny indi-

isn't thinking. soccer fans are not a group. "Group" one fan says. It's not a group. We almost only other. Closer scrutiny indi-

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As a rule, new fans are recruited from among friends of the same age. There is usually an older boy, aged about 16, who is the pack leader.

He leads a group of 13- to 14-year-olds. He owes his status either to the gift of the gab or to brute force.

The problem of the younger ones is what sociologists call profile neurosis.

They feel constantly called on to show how courageous they are and what great ideas they have.

"They don't get to see anything of the match," says a police officer who works at Schalke 04's Gelsenkirchen ground when home matches are held.

"They often stand with their backs to the pitch or run around on the edge of the block of fans. They are the real trouble-makers."

A 16-year-old fan describes this category as follows: "They say: 'Come on, let's have a punch-up, the next one's mine!'"

"Then they, and the rest, climb over the fence for a fight or they smash up a coach."

A much older group described in the report is the category typified as tough guys. Unlike the pack leaders, all they do is join in fights that have already begun.

"The ability to consume enormous quantities of alcohol," the writers note, tongue in cheek, "is one of their major attributes."

Their behaviour is intended to make them appear cool, strong and experienced.

Another group, one full of problems, is the category described as the anti-socials. They are particularly brutal.

Other youngsters view them with anything ranging from contempt to admiration:

"He pushed this guy's head into the lavatory and pulled the chain. They're a really rough mob."

Yet most soccer fans are by no means anti-social or social outcasts. Of 40

Continued from page 11

Far East. Kupkovic said the German cultural scene was a close and familiar counterpart for Czechs and Slovaks.

He had no trouble in coming to terms. Arvo Part said Estonia too related cultural ties with the German language, which two generations ago was still the language of education in the Baltic.

Richard Wagner, of all people, was the familiar figure who made it easy for Viktor Suslin to adapt. He was surprised by how green Germany was; when he was in Russia he had not expected such vegetation in Germany.

So gaining access to German culture and the arts was not the problem. How the emigrants planned to progress personally was more difficult.

There is an academic discipline known as skills research. It deals with how exile affects an artist's work.

Does coming from another country widen the horizons of those who face the problem of integrating in the German cultural scene — and are keen to do so?

Is it a success? Frankly, no. The past, the old country, prevails, although it

does present an opportunity of bridging cultures.



"Some people actually go to football to watch the game". — Someone who doesn't. (Photos dpa)

questioned, only two failed to finish school.

Fifteen finished secondary school, 19 senior school and four had passed university entrance exams. Nearly all were learning a trade or had already learnt one.

Fans' value judgements cannot be described as primarily destructive either. They attach importance to qualities such as courage, strength, solidarity and reliability.

Here are a few typical comments: "You have to stand by the club when times are hard" — "One for all and all for one" — "We don't beat up kids."

Their code of honour also rules out ever hitting girls, and since their behaviour is more like carnival than organised crime it is easy to appreciate one point made in the report.

It is the recommendation to avoid anything that might prompt the fans to veer off in a criminal direction. The police and social workers must intervene immediately to cool tempers down.

Clashes between rival groups of fans begin with verbal abuse. Punch-ups should be prevented.

Let them dare each other to scale the fence and play hide-and-seek with po-

Only now is he in a position to contribute a number of works with a religious content. In the Soviet Union religious texts are taboo; Mozart's Requiem being the only exception.

Otherwise the religious text can only be added to a work in the West.

Viktor Suslin has not been in Germany long enough to be able to say whether his style has changed or not.

Ladislav Kupkovic has progressed the most radically from being a Saul of the experimental avant-garde to a Paul of new tonal music.

He has not been afraid to run the risk of being accused of going in for trivial entertainment. He is no longer willing to consider new departures in atonal music.

Kupkovic feels they are a step in the wrong direction. Music, he says, must return to sharp and flat as customary in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy that was his musical home.

Many young composers have followed his example. He is no longer out on a limb with his ideas. He goes on to explain in detail how allovitiz is distilled in his native Slovakia.

Arvo Part has never been keen on the Darmstadt approach and continues in the way he began back home. He is, however, fairly self-critical.

Detlef Golowy

lice and patrol dogs. There is no need to over-react.

Yet when fans' behaviour assumes criminal proportions the report recommends immediate arrests and sentences, possibly at the ground itself.

There seems to be an unassailable case for banning the sale of alcohol at the ground and on board football trains.

Since fences and partitions are no guarantee of preventing fans from clamouring over and mixing it, it would be advisable to keep rival groups as far apart as possible on the ground.

The loudspeaker announcements can also be helpful. The right psychological approach over the public address system could help.

Fans' behaviour, the report concludes, is a structure-related feature of the age in which we live.

Successful measures by the police and orderlies will in many cases merely redirect aggression to areas less and less related to the game.

The report has no sure-cure suggestions to make. Soccer aggro looks like being around for some time to come.

Günter Lachmann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 November 1982)